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# Church and sect in a rural West Indian village.

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CHURCH AND SECT IN A RURAL WEST INDIAN VILLAGE:

A Comparative Study of the Socio-economic Characteristics  
Determining Affiliation with the Pilgrim Holiness  
Church (Mission), and the Anglican Parish Church in  
Barnes Ghaut Village, Nevis, Leeward Islands, W.I.

by

CYNTHIA BRAZIER

A Thesis  
submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies  
through the Department of Sociology  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the Degree of Master of Arts

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

1979.



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## ABSTRACT

The main aim of this study was to analyse and describe social characteristics and religious activities of members of the Pilgrim Holiness church, (Mission), and the Anglican church in the cultural context of Barnes Ghaut village, Nevis, West Indies. My observations that there is a difference in religious expression between the two groups, and that a different type of person becomes a member of the Anglican church than the type who joins Mission have raised certain questions.

A review of the church/sect theory literature provided insights into the motivations underlying religious behaviour which were confirmed by the interview data from Nevis. The two groups of religious institutions and their functions are described in the context of the historical-cultural background of the village.

Information was gathered through Participant Observation during the Summer of 1978. Scales appropriate to the community observed were devised to test the following four hypotheses.

- I. People higher on the occupational scale will tend to be members of the church while those lower on the scale will tend to join the sect.
- II. People higher on the educational scale will tend to belong to the church while those lower on the scale will tend to join the sect.

- III. Women will be more involved in both church and sect than men will be.
- IV. The sect member will tend to be more involved in religious activities than the church member will be.

Each hypothesis was supported by the data collected.

## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the people of Barnes Ghaut village, Nevis, West Indies, especially to my grandmother, Helen Cornelius.



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## INTRODUCTION

This study was undertaken to fill a gap, because to my knowledge, no comprehensive study had been done on religion in Nevis, Leeward Islands, West Indies. It was an attempt to give an accurate description of the Pilgrim Holiness church, or Mission, as it is locally called, and the Anglican parish church of St. Thomas' parish in the cultural context of Barnes Ghaut village, Nevis, W.I.

Most of the people of Barnes Ghaut village are affiliated with or attend functions of one or another or both the Mission and the Anglican church. I have observed that a different type of person becomes a member of the Evangelical or Pentecostal sect, namely, the Pilgrim Holiness church, than the type who is a member of the Anglican church. I have also observed that there is a marked difference in religious expression between the sect and the church. These observations have raised certain questions which I have considered in the light of sociological theory.

1. What motivates a person to commit himself or herself to the sect ideology as opposed to the church ideology?
2. What accounts for the difference in religious expression?

3. Why do people lower on the socio economic scale join the sect while people higher on the scale are members of the church?
4. What impact do religious teachings have on the members' orientation to life in the sect as opposed to life in the church?
5. What makes one give up a life of social freedom afforded by the church for the socially restricted lifestyle of the sect?

I hope that this study may bring to bear sociological theory on my observations of the Barnes Ghaut community; and that it will give an insight into the relationship which the two religious groups have with their society, that is, other-worldly as opposed to this-worldly orientations. I also hope that it will awaken an interest in Nevisian religion on the part of social scientists; and that it will foster a better understanding of the cultural religious world view of the people of Nevis.

## CHAPTER 1

### HISTORICAL-CULTURAL OVERVIEW OF NEVIS

"Columbus sailed the ocean blue  
In fourteen hundred and ninety two."

When Christopher Columbus came to Nevis in 1493, the Carib and Arawak Indians he met there called the island "Oualie", but the 3,596 ft. mountain peak reminded him of a snow capped peak in Spain, thus he called the island "Las Nieves", meaning the snows.

Nevis, about 50 sq. miles, had a 1970 population of 15,813. In 1623, Sir Thomas Warner established the first British colony in the West Indies at St. Kitts, or St. Christopher, and in 1628-1629, one of his men, Captain Anthony Hilton, with 80 Englishmen, left St. Kitts to settle Nevis. St. Thomas' church, at Lowlands, is the oldest church on the island; this is where aristocrats were buried, and there are still tombstones and plaques in the churchyard and inside the church to attest to this.

Here lyes the mirovr of each martial mind  
Religeon who confirmed and refined  
In all his actions who was fortunate  
An atlas to support the weight of the state  
The islands safeguard and her foes begreased  
The flower of Armies and the flower of peace  
Now Nevis mourne reading this epitaph  
Here Jacob resteth and here lyes your staff.

Here lyeth the bodye of Captain Jacob  
Lake esquire late governor of the Iland

4

of Nevis who departed this life in October  
1649.

\*\*\*\*\*

Here lyes y bodye of Mis Elizabeth Lake  
daughter to Jacob Lake esq. late Governor  
of this Iland of Nevis who departed this  
life y 18th day of this present June 1664  
being aged fovrteen yeares and months nine.

A pious vertious blamelesse spotlesse maid  
By crvell Death was suddenly betraid  
Of sweetest life (also) a Barbarous crime  
To cropp a flower so sweet so near y prime  
Let zoilvs carpe I may not pretermitt  
Her admirable worth her pregnant witt  
Modest she was chaste dvtiful and staide  
Not provd not scornfvll (yet) a perfect maide  
Her parents only joy this ilands grace  
In heaven svre shall be her resting place  
Ceased brvtish teares forbear yovr grievous movrne  
A happy charge tis a celestiaall throne  
Prepared is what comfort doth this give  
To pay a debt to dy and yet to live. \*\*

From about 1628, the Anglican church was the only church in Nevis, because it was the official church of the mother country, Britain. By the mid-eighteenth century, with the introduction and implementation of African slavery, the white planter class had become a minority amongst the large black population. The presence of the blacks threatened to alter their basic Europeaness; thus it was necessary to emphasize their continuity with the cultural norms of their country, if only by ritual. This sort of ritual was provided by the Established church.

( \*\* Please refer to Appendix 11 for a more detailed example of inscriptions. These appear as they are on the tombstones. )



The curious lack of evangelical emotion characteristic of the Anglican, Dutch Reformed and Lutheran churches for the greater part of the 18th century therefore fitted in with the lack of religious needs of the plantocracy. (Haynes; 1971:23)

Among the plantocracy, there existed no inward and spiritual grace corresponding to the outward and visible sign of the Established churches.

The Established church in Nevis served another function.. It was an institution the slaves did not own, and were usually not allowed to participate in, thus it served as one more thing the master had over the slave. "During the 18th century, both the Anglican and the Dutch Reformed churches offered a religion of the head rather than the heart." (Haynes; 1971:23) But the Established churches were not the only form of Christianity available in the eighteenth century. The Evangelists came, and with their coming, the slaves were given religious instructions. According to A. Caldecott, the Unitas Fratrum or United Brethren, (Moravians), came from Germany around 1732-1754; the Methodists came from England (John Wesley) in 1789; and the Baptists came from America (George Lisle) in the 1800's. (Caldecott; 1970:71)

Other sources, including Lilith Haynes claim that the Moravians arrived in St. Kitts in 1756; that there was a local negro Baptist church in Jamaica started in

1783 by two North American negroes; and the Methodists began their mission in 1789. (Haynes; 1971:24). With the Evangelicals, Christianity became a religion of the heart, not the head. Osborne and Johnson date the Moravians' coming at 1732; the Methodists at 1754 or 1786; and the Baptists at 1782. (Osborne and Johnson; 1972:44-45).

Calley stated, "the Baptist church first came to the West Indies after the American War of Independence; spread by negroes who were freed slaves or migrants from the United States." (Calley; 1965:18). "In Nevis, slaves from the United States were significant in Evangelism." (Osborne and Johnson; 1972:46). In 1845-46, out of a population of 9,571 in Nevis, 1,300 were Anglican attendants while 6,000 were non-conformist attendants. (Caldecott; 1970). He continued:

The actual results effected by the non-conformist missions under these circumstances were small; but their presence in the islands was a standing declaration that there was an Evangelical character in the Christian religion. By the upper class it was successfully ignored; but among the slaves, even the most ignorant, there was a consciousness of a brightness and a hope unknown before. That the roots struck in somewhat deeply became evident as time went on, and the opening was formed for a larger incursion of evangelistic agencies. (Caldecott; 1970:76).

At first, the planters resented and resisted the intrusion of the missionaries; the heads in England

knew that the planters in the West Indies would not tolerate the missionaries if they thought that questions about slavery would arise; thus, the early approach of the missionaries was to avoid political questions. (Haynes; 1971).

In retrospect, Nevis was a society that had the institution of slavery. Initially, there was the Anglican church which was restricted to the plantocracy only. By the mid seventeen hundreds, the Evangelicals had infiltrated the society, and religious instruction had become available to the slaves. With the Emancipation of the slaves around 1838, the way was opened for negro participation in the Anglican church.

To the officials of the colonial office the only institution in the West Indies that could draw together the ex-master and the ex-slave and the coloured middle class was the church, and particularly the Established church. (Haynes; 1971:31).

The church could embrace all the classes; it could instill responsibility and the will to work in the negroes, and it could wean the negro from African superstitions and introduce him to Christian rationality. "The church would unite the classes by civilizing the negro and making a black Victorian out of him." (Haynes; 1971:31). In 1842, the Anglican church created two new bishoprics, one of which was Antigua. This was and still is the bishopric for the Leeward Islands, including Nevis,

Mays and Nicholson stated, "because of conditions under new world slavery, negroes developed certain survival techniques, the most significant of which being possibly a 'religious' technique." (Mays and Nicholson, 1933:56). The Nevisian sect religion has definite historical foundations. Slavery in the West Indies hindered a diffusion of a detailed knowledge of European Christianity. This encouraged West Indians to invent their own interpretations and sects or cults on which they based an ideology of withdrawal from the cruel world. And since the only forms of voluntary organizations permitted were religious, they often used magico religious means as attempts to solve their problems. The dichotomy between the wicked world and the Kingdom of God was tailor made for the West Indian slaves who were undergoing rapid social change, who were not certain of their values, and who had all avenues to power and influence closed to them.

Religion was one of the only avenues open or available to them for self expression, leadership and participation, but the negroes did not always interpret Christianity the way the whites did. Their religion was a fusion of the experiences of their African religious past and those of slavery and oppression. The Pilgrim Holiness church of Barnes Ghaut still retains some of these characteristics of religious expression; the main one being "taking in

with the spirit", or being possessed by the spirit.

"Pentecostalism, in its present form, as a self consciously separate branch of Christianity, developed during the first decade of this century in the United States, England and the Continent." (Calley; 1965:2). Soon after its emergence in the United States in the early 1900's, Pentecostal proselytizers carried the message to foreign lands. (La Ruffa; 1969). Though the North American influence has been strong in the Barnes Ghaut Pilgrim Holiness church, there is no direct contact with North American headquarters, nor is the congregation firmly attached to an international organization.

There was no documented historical information about the Mission, nor the Anglican church, in any of the church records. The Mission is situated in the village of Barnes Ghaut; the Anglican church is situated at Lowlands, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$ -2 miles from Barnes Ghaut, on the main road. Barnes Ghaut is situated off the main road, locally referred to as "in the bush", or "behind God's back". The Anglican churches in Nevis are parish churches; one for each parish on the island, each serving several villages. The St. Thomas' Anglican church serves the Lowland region, including Cotton Ground or Clifton village, Jessups village, West Bury, Fountain and Barnes Ghaut village. The pastors of both the Mission and the Anglican church

said there were no records of membership or attendance, so I had to draw conclusions from the historical information available, and from people's accounts.

The St. Thomas' church is the oldest church on the island, and the oldest tombstone or plaque inscription dates back to 1649; this implies that the church was established around the 1630's - 1640's. Since Nevis is a predominantly black populated island, I tried to get an idea of the date that blacks were allowed into the Anglican church, but there was no definite information about this. However, the implication from the historical information is that negroes were allowed into the church around the 1840's, after Emancipation.

The ex-pastor of the Mission, Mrs. Brown, said that the Mission was started by Mrs. Inene Blyden, locally called "Mother Taylor", around 1927. She was from a neighbouring island, Saba. She formed a branch in Charlestown, and had a Sunday School in Barnes Ghaut, then a branch was later formed in Barnes Ghaut. Rhoda Nisbett, later Rhoda Henry, was the second preacher; followed by a succession of preachers, including a few white missionaries, but the majority of pastors have been black indigenous people, including Avery, Mead, Charles, Linton, Brown and Esdaille. Initially, Sister Henry, and later Carlton Blake, conducted Sunday School outdoors. Later, a "trash

tent" was built, and after that fell, Sister Dean promised to have a tent built. She sent the material, and a galvanized tent was built. This is the present building the Mission holds its functions in, and it is locally called "Tent".

Sister Brown said one is not a full member of the Pilgrim Holiness church until the covenant is taken. Baptism does not guarantee membership; after baptism, the rules of the church are read, and if one pledges to follow the rules, or take the covenant, then membership is granted. Sister Brown had been the preacher for about twenty years, and had lost her pastorship in 1978. Apparently, two of the Mission members had been having an affair, and the Board members held a meeting at which they claimed that Sister Brown knew about this affair, but did not do anything about it; so the keys were given to one of the other members, and her pastorship was revoked. At the time of this study, the pastor of the Town branch, which is now the main branch, came to Barnes Ghaut to conduct the services. Sister Brown still remained an ardent member of the Mission.

The majority of Nevisians are Christian, in the sense that they believe in God, or are affiliated with some Christian religion. However, cultism has reached the shores of Nevis. Rastafarianism, a cult religion

originating in Jamaica in the 1930's, has infiltrated the island of Nevis. The "Rastas", as they are locally called, are both male and female, but are primarily young people. It is left to be seen how widely this phenomenon will spread in Nevis. At the time of this study, the Rastafarian phenomenon was quite distasteful to Nevisians, because they claimed that it encouraged the young people to be lazy, and to carry themselves in an inappropriate manner. They felt that the island could do without the additional problem of Rastafarianism.

I mentioned before that the church tried to wean the negro from African superstitions and introduce him to Christianity. It appears that although the church succeeded in introducing the negro to Christianity, it failed to wean the Nevisian from African superstitions, because although the majority of Nevisians are affiliated with some religion, there is still widespread and pervasive belief in obeah and spirits or "jumbies". The Missionites claim that it is a sin to believe in obeah, and that God's power or belief in God is stronger than any obeah, but they strongly believe in the existence of spirits or jumbies, and they do allude to obeah.

John Royer wrote:

We have seen that in small scale societies of the West Indies, where alternatives are few and personal relationships are



multiplex and highly charged affectively, people often blame failure on the evil intentions of others. Where these cannot be demonstrated by overt actions, they are sometimes thought to be the result of sorcery and witchcraft practised by one's enemies. (Royer; 1977:67).

He continued:

It is important to realize two fundamental sources of the West Indian's supernatural beliefs. The first and most important is the survivals of African supernatural behaviour as they were reshaped during slavery and secondly, the impact of Christianity on the slaves. (Royer; 1977:68).

There is no known practising obeah person in Barnes Ghaut, but mention is frequently made of "going to Gingerland fu yu". Gingerland is part of the island and is supposed to be the place where most of the obeah practitioners are located. Mention is often made that "so and so han dutty", (hands are dirty, meaning that the person has sought help from obeah sources or is involved in some sort of activity connected with obeah). Many would threaten to "put yu oo tan up een de grung", (make one who steals stand on the land until the owner got there); to "mek food gro een yu guts or mek goat ball een yu belly", (make produce grow in one's tummy, or make animals bleat, moo, crow, etc. in the thief's tummy); and many other such threats would be made largely as a measure of scaring people and preventing them from stealing from others. These people allude to the fact that by contacting

an obeah person, usually an obeah man, anyone who stole their stuff would be easily identified as well as punished. There are more serious threats. It is believed that if one is doing well, this arouses jealousy, and the jealous party would harm the person who is doing well in some way, using obeah. This could be if one is doing well educationally, financially or in one's standard of living. It has been alleged that there are cases where the well-to-do people "tun creazy", (go mad), or the jealous person "set jumbie pan om", (set ghosts on the person who is doing well).

If one gets sick, has a mental problem, or sometimes in death, people believe that it is the work of obeah. Two boys from the village died in their early teens, the doctors said it was cancer in both cases, but the village people claim that the boys ate somebody's produce, and that the person had "dutty han". and caused their deaths. When people's children are unusually bad, they are fond of saying "dem mus be put yu so", (they must have worked obeah on you and caused you to misbehave). Parents admonish their children to "no yet fram neager", (don't eat from people), especially if they fall into the well-to-do category.

The people of Barnes Ghaut also refer to "tying up a man's hed", (using obeah or some other means to trap a

man into marriage). Even the children have certain things they can do or certain steps they can follow to hurt people, or to achieve something. One famous method is a combination of urine, lizard, frog's tongue, long grass and some other ingredients. This combination is put in a bottle and tied in a fruit tree, and this is supposed to break the thief's neck, or harm him in some way. The school children usually combine some other ingredients on their way to school to make the head-teacher fall asleep so that they will not be strapped for reaching to school late.

Jumbies and jumbie stories are a normal part of the life of the residents of Barnes Ghaut. There are quite a few people who profess to be able to see or to have seen jumbies; and one method of getting children to behave is to threaten them with "jumbie man gon git yu", (jumbie will get you if you are not good). People profess that jumbies come in animal shapes, or in their own form. On seeing a jumbie, or if a jumbie is in the vicinity, one's head is supposed to rise. Also, if "yu tek nyampy fram a dankey yie, an put om een a yu won, yu can see jumbie", or "ef yu mash sumbody heel who carn see dem, an ef yu cu see dem, y pusson who heel yu mash gwine cu see dem to", (if one takes the stuff from a donkey's eye and puts it in one's eye, or if someone who can see jumbies steps on one's

heel, one will be able to see jumbies). These jumbie stories are fun to listen to, but they can scare people, and give them nightmares. The stories are usually told at night, and the average child there is afraid of the dark. This, coupled with the fear of jumbies, can cause much anxiety.

It is clear that the lives of the people of Barnes Ghaut are steeped deeply in superstition. There are certain precautions one can take. When one is pregnant, one is not supposed to attend funerals, unless the departed is a close family member, and one is not supposed to look at the face of the dead. When the baby is born, an open Bible, with a pair of scissors on the open pages is placed at the baby's head, and a little bag containing artasetifa is tied around young children's necks to keep jumbies away. If these precautions are not taken, there is the risk that the young child will be taken back to the spirit world by jumbies. When babies smile, they are said to be smiling with the good spirits, and when they chew, they are supposedly being fed by jumbies. Some of the residents of Barnes Ghaut say that spirits have given them names for their unborn babies through dreams, and it is believed that if these names were not given to the babies, the spirit that gave the names would take the babies away, the babies would die.

All the residents of the village believe in performing certain rites for the dead to try and ensure that the "spirit" is laid to rest completely. If one dies early in the day, because of the lack of funeral homes in the village, and the lack of finances even if they were available, funeral arrangements are made for that same day; if the death occurs later in the day, or if it is not possible to have funeral arrangements for that same day, the body is kept overnight. If it is, then there is a "wake", where people gather and sing hymns all night, pray, and have coffee and crackers, or rum. But it would seem that these wakes have not been able to keep jumbies at rest, because so many people claim to have seen or been harrassed by jumbies. There are certain "jumbie spots", among which are tamarind trees, certain fruit trees, a place called Gumalie, in certain haunted houses or property, and in some cases, in places where people have "set jumbies".

## CHAPTER 11

### THEORETICAL REVIEW OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES OF RELIGIOUS FUNCTIONS

This study uses a Structural Functionalist perspective, which makes no judgement as to the ultimate truth or falsity of religious belief. "Functional analysis is concerned with the contributions which a given type of institutionalized activity makes to the adjustment of individuals, to the adaptation, (survival) of a group, or to the perpetuation or undermining of existing social structures." (Simpson; 1956:411).

Functional theory as developed by Parsons, Merton and others and summarized by O'Dea, "sees man in society as characterized by two types of needs and two kinds of propensities to act. They must act upon the environment, adjusting to it, or controlling it for their survival; and they have to express feelings, act out felt needs, respond to and interact with people." (O'Dea; 1966:4).

What is the significance of religion? Since religion has continued to exist, it must be functional. Religion is functional because it contributes to "transcendence of everyday experience in the natural environment." (O'Dea; 1966:4). Why does man need this transcendence? O'Dea suggested that it is because of three fundamental characteristics of human existence.

1. He lives in uncertainty; existence is contingent.
2. His ability to control his life conditions is limited; he is powerless.
3. The society in which he lives is composed of allocated functions, facilities and rewards. There is scarcity.

Functional theory suggests that religion assists in the individual's adjustment to contingency, powerlessness and scarcity, which otherwise may bring frustration and deprivation. These characteristics of the human condition are not sufficiently dealt with by other social institutions. If questions about death and injustice, for example, cannot be meaningfully dealt with, the values of institutionalized goals and norms are undermined. (O'Dea; 1966).

Ongoing human activity and the continued functioning of the social system require answers to the problem of meaning.

If a larger view which transcends empirical experience in the here and now in which we encounter these evils can be formulated, if norms and goals which work hardship upon us appear justified in such a view, then misfortune and frustration will make some ultimate sense. Then life can be viewed as having meaning supplied by a view of it which transcends empirical experience in the finite human situation of the here and now. The here and now becomes meaningful by being fitted into a beyond. (O'Dea; 1966:6).

Not only does religion provide a cognitive meaning, but also an emotional adjustment to frustrations and deprivations. It offers support, consolation, and reconciliation; it offers a transcendental relationship through ceremonies of worship; it provides a frame of reference through its teachings; it sacralizes the norms and values of established society, contributing to social control. It identifies the person with his particular group; it is supportive in uncertainty; it is consolation in the face of disappointment; it lifts his morale, it provides him with an identity. It acts as a cohesive bond in society, reinforcing unity and stability.

(O'Dea, 1966)

Within the structural functionalist framework, the typology of religious institutions originally suggested by Max Weber provides an analytic tool to further our understanding of the religious groups in Barnes Ghaut. Max Weber's distinctions of church and sect were elaborated by Ernst Troeltsch, and later developed by other theorists. These two types are ideal types, but comparison can be made between groups on the extent to which they approximate one or the other of these types. The sect is characterized by separatism from the society and withdrawal from the world, exclusive attitude and social structure, emphasis on conversion, voluntary membership,



spirit of regeneration and an austere ethical attitude. The church, on the other hand, is characterized by hierarchy and dogma, membership being obtained at birth, inclusive social structure, adjustment to and compromise with society's values and institutions. Troeltsch viewed the sect as a voluntary society, made up of strict Christian believers bound together by the common experience of being born again.

The literature shows that there is a differential usage of religious symbolism by different socio economic status groups or classes. The church/sect dichotomy is useful in an analysis of the effects of class or occupational status on participation in religious groups. Hart Nelsen, Raytha Yokley and Anne Nelsen wrote about sects, "lower class negroes more than middle and upper class negroes adhere to these latter churches," (1971:83.) The small proportion of upper class negroes belong to the orthodox churches, since for them a main function of church membership is to give prestige. (Nelsen, Yokley & Nelsen, 1971)

According to Herve Carrier, the church is a religious body of which one usually becomes a member at birth, it is institutionalized, and it leans towards the universal and includes all people in conversion. The sect, on the other hand, appears as a limited group;

it recruits its members on a voluntary basis. It is opposed to institutionalization, sacramentalism and compromise with the world. Sect members want to obtain spiritual fervour. (Carrier; 1965:76).

Patrick H. Mc Namara stated:

The ideal typical church and sect differ in both internal and external characteristics. Externally, the church seeks to make its peace with the secular society surrounding it whereas the sect is either aloof or hostile. Internally, the church has many of the earmarks of a bureaucracy with professionalized leadership, high valuation of ritual, and an impersonal evangelizing strategy that welcomes persons wherever they may be. The sect, on the other hand, is more of an amateurish social movement with lay, charismatic leadership, an emphasis upon fervid spontaneity, and a sense of religious exclusiveness, as reflected in high membership standards. (Mc Namara; 1974:31).

Demerath suggested that the extremes of church and sect differ in their internal characteristics and their relation to the external world. Internally, the church has a professional leadership, relatively impersonal fellowship and lax standards for membership. It lays stress on the sacraments and rituals. The sect has charismatic, non professional leadership. Its standards for membership are strict and include conversion and signs of salvation. The fellowship is very moral and intimate; spontaneity replaces ritual, and personal testimony takes the place of sacraments. Externally, the

church accomodates the secular order. It adapts and compromises with the world, resulting in organizational stability and large membership. This causes the church to share its members with other secular institutions. The sect, with its distinctive dogma, is unwilling and unable to give in and remains aloof towards secular values and society. Its members have only secondary allegiances to secular groups and their ideologies. (Demerath; 1964:53).

Bryan Wilson, in his sociological study of religious sects wrote, "sects are movements of religious protest". According to him, sectarians put their faith first. The resocialization of people and the transmission of new moral perspectives to lower classes are largely due to sectarian impulse. Sects emerge from spontaneous development around a charismatic leader, by schism and by organized revival. He distinguished between;

- (a) Conversionist sects; those interested in changing and elevating moral behaviour. These sects seek to alter men, hoping thus to alter the world.
- (b) Introversionist sects; those rejecting the worldly values and replacing them with transcendent spiritual ideals or higher inner values.
- (c) Gnostic sects; those accepting society's goals but seek new means, esoteric or supernatural, of achieving these goals.

He termed the heart experience as conversionist. This is where an individual is touched by God, and becomes saved. This experience is essential to salvation, and there is no other way. The sects are fundamentalist, the members accept scriptures literally, emphasize feeling, and express intense emotions. The sense of power generated in services provides compensation for those otherwise neglected, poor, uneducated and powerless. (Wilson; 1970).

In a descriptive analysis of "The Small Sects in America", Elmer T. Clark wrote about sect members;

Their standards of conduct are invented from the simple lives they are compelled at all events to lead, and are congenial to their simplicity. They give free rein to their emotions and attribute the pleasant thrills thereof to a divine agency. They look for an escape from their hard lot into a heaven of bliss and comfort which is foreign to their work-a-day existence, and usually picture a coming time when the judgements of society shall be reversed and they shall change places with the prosperous and comfortable, who shall be cast down, while the pious poor shall be exalted. They espouse their tenets with almost fanatical devotion and regard themselves as the true beloved of God. Thus the sect is born, out of a combination of spiritual need and economic forces. (Clark; 1965:17).

He distinguished seven types of sects. The Pilgrim Holiness church of Barnes Ghaut falls under his Perfectionist or Subjectivist sect, where the members seek holiness,

personal perfection and freedom from the temptation of the flesh, and his Charismatic or Pentecostal sect, where the members seek the spirit of prophecy. They speak in tongues and have visions and trances. (Clark; 1965).

Joseph Washington's study on Black Sects and Cults looked at the setting of cults and sects in a historical context. According to him, black sects differ not so much in form, but in necessity from their white counterparts. In the absence of relative black social, economic, ecclesiastical and political power in colonization, sectarians have led their people to the ultimate power of the spirit as the way to secular power.

A sect is a movement in which the primary emphasis is to attempt to satisfy the various basic individual needs by religious means. It is usually seen as a revolt against a religious system in which these needs have not been adequately met. Pentecostals are an avoidance sect. They devalue the significance of this life and in their hopelessness seek supernatural power. The sects appeal to their own ecclesiastical--theological tradition for justification. Religion as the hope to social power is obscured by the search for immediate spiritual power which is nearly exhausted in millenarianism, holiness, personal perfection of life, speaking in tongues, freedom from temptation, puritan moralism and spiritual prophecy.

Salvation of the individual, fundamentalism, faith healing and the public confession of sin become substitutes for real power.

He stated that joining a Pentecostal sect is an intentional act, a chosen act. It is a facing up to a personal crisis. The religious quickening enables the followers to be reborn as new creatures. These sects thrive on controversy, and their distinction from traditional religious groups has united the members into an exclusive fellowship. The earnestness and vitality of these sects, the intensity of religious belonging and feeling, lead to a high sense of loyalty and urgency.

The black sect type is a spin-off of black or white church types. Jesus Christ is at the center of these protest movements. But because poverty and powerlessness are part of their daily lives, the sacraments and theology are less orthodox. These sect types demand to feel the immediate presence of Jesus as a cushion against daily socio-economic frustrations.

It is not the content, but the intent of these sects that is important. The intent is that of traditional African religions, seeking God in all times, places and things, because without that power, man is powerless. Unless man attunes himself to God, he is impotent. The black man's imperfect freedom will find perfection and

freedom in God's free will. It is only in attuning himself to God can he gain dignity in the midst of adversity, and humility in the event of prosperity. Instead of doing nothing or resigning themselves to human powers and institutions which work against them, blacks come together in a sect community where they seek guidance for their common destiny, guidance when acting upon and through their emotions to move the bigger power. Their worship is seeking the power of God, because they know themselves to be powerless without this ultimate power dwelling in their community and through it, each individual. (Washington; 1972).

Calley wrote;

Pentecostalism is the branch of Christianity which holds that the ecstasy of members of the very early Christian church at Jerusalem interpreted as possession by the Holy Ghost remains a valid, even necessary, form of religious experience today. This ecstasy is in all Pentecostal sects, expressed in glossalalia, talking with tongues, but may be expressed in other ways as well; by ritual, twitching, dancing, rolling on the ground, visions and prophecy. (Calley; 1965:1)

"Pentecostalism subscribes to the Reformation principles that salvation is a free gift of divine grace." (Nichol; 1966:2). Pentecostals believe that each believer should seek for and submit to the leading of the Spirit and withdrawal from the world. Believer's baptism replaces infant

baptism, and the members look for the imminent visible return of Christ. (Nichol; 1966).

The Pentecostal movement is an ecstatic revivalist movement which led to the formation of separatist congregations. It gave particular attention to speaking in tongues, faith healing, and saw in these experiences a revival of the gifts of the Holy Spirit at the first Pentecost. The Pentecostal revival originated in the longing for fresh spiritual inspiration. (Molland; 1959).

La Ruffa identified Pentecostalism by the following characteristics.

1. A fundamentalist interpretation of the Bible.
2. Conversion as a crisis experience which rectifies the essential depravity of human nature and begins the process of perfectionism.
3. Belief in the second coming of Christ.
4. Emphasis on faith healing.
5. Baptism by emersion.
6. A high degree of emotional participation in religious activities.
7. An active seeking of possession by the Holy Spirit which is manifested in talking in tongues. (La Ruffa; 1969:276).

For the Holiness people, the world's problem is sin, which can only be overcome through an encounter with God. The marks of Holiness include an emotional experience of conversion, sanctification, striving for perfection, the guidance of the Holy Spirit, revival and a strict puritan morality. (Washington; 1972).

Bryan Wilson wrote about the people of Latin



America that Pentecostalism was the basis for the reintegration of community groups. To rural people who are not articulate, there is a special symbolic compensatory significance in having power to speak in tongues, as the gift of the Holy Spirit. The Chilean pastor could induce the people to help themselves by living self-disciplined lives. The acceptance of moral injunctions to abjure alcohol, the impulse to work in an orderly manner, the concern to be a good steward, (according to the Bible), are important. (Wilson; 1976).

Pentecostalists appear to attain the moral standards which the movement prescribes and to do so to a far more impressive degree than their Catholic compatriots; even though both churches make many of the same moral exhortations. Pentecostalism succeeds, perhaps because exhortation is more democratic encouragement, is sustained by more effective processes of internalization, and is less dependent on external, officially prescribed social control, epitomized in particular in the mechanism of the authoritarian confessional. (Wilson; 1976:56).

Williams suggested that Pentecostal churches have taken the idealized intimate model of the nuclear family and the Biblical code of ethics for their mode of behaviour and nature of social interaction. He contended that the intense dynamics of the relationships in the

Pentecostal church that he studied create a vital community so absorbing the interest of the members that they can spend a lifetime there. (Williams; 1974).

In 1970, Gary Schwartz did a study on the religious ideologies of the Pentecostal and Seventh Day Adventist sects in the U.S. In this study, he looked at the social roots of sect affiliation and how this commitment effected the believer's everyday life. He wrote:

religious ideologies tell men how to achieve salvation. But, more than that, religious ideologies diagnose the bearing of various natural, social and supernatural realities on their adherents' spiritual fortunes, and they propose to remove the obstacles which stand in the way of salvation. (Schwartz; 1970:1).

Ideologies represent reality for the believer. Not only do they arise in certain social milieu, they have a decisive impact on it. They point out the causes of common suffering and prescribe a remedy. They serve as symbolic and positive efforts to overcome them. They promise salvation; and give incomprehensible social situations meaning.

The credibility of an ideology lies in its ability to show workable solutions to great problems, its ability to satisfy questions about the meaning of human life, and its ability to provide proof of its value. Its ability to motivate men to pursue certain goals and to avoid others lies in the properties it retains as an

integrated system of beliefs.

The ideologies are precipitated by strains and frustrations caused by low social status. Social marginality and status deprivation sustain these forms of protest found in sects. Pentecostal sects are fundamentalist sects; they emphasize the accessibility of a divine power to the believer through spiritual possession. The Holy Ghost can enter into the mind and body of the believer and bestow miraculous powers upon him. Christianity corroborates their messianic expectations, and also reinforces the idea that religious knowledge, power and authority are attained through direct contact with supernatural powers. Pentecostals achieve immediate salvation through a transcendence of present time by spiritual aid. Their religious experience transports them beyond the ordinary passage of time into the eternal realm of spiritual salvation. (Schwartz; 1970).

Schwartz went on to suggest that;

sect solidarity is a consequence of the distinctive pattern of life which emerges from common ideological commitments. It is not, from a historical perspective, the product of intense religious feelings, which are easily dissipated after a revival meeting has run its course. Shared belief in the rightness of certain modes of knowing and acting, and not merely a common emotional experience, is the source of lasting sect solidarity. (Schwartz; 1970:73).

Pentecostalism holds that a person will strengthen his

sense of personal worth and dignity through union with the Holy Spirit. When the sect member is filled with the Holy Spirit, he is no longer socially obscure and anonymous; by being touched, he is distinguished from all other men. He now has a new image of his spiritual achievements. His status assertions rest upon a life filled with spiritual achievements, with religious purity and holiness. The experience confirms the believer's perception of his own worth. It lessens the harshness of the external forces reducing his self esteem. It provides the believer with a valued personal identity, because his personal contact with God transcends the boundaries of ordinary human knowledge and understanding. Not only is he now able to solve some of his problems, his difficulties are now placed in a new, less confining perspective. Spirit possession allows the adherent to dramatize his unique talents and place his personal dignity and integrity beyond that of those who rely on worldly criteria for status judgements. (Schwartz; 1970).

C. Eric Lincoln suggested that the Holiness movement had its membership mainly among the poor. He found that the "United House of Prayer", a sect in the U.S., continued to be patronized by low income, down-trodden, uneducated Afro-Americans. He also found that three quarters of the followers were female. (Lincoln; 1974:229).

In his study of religious cults among negroes in America, Julius Jones stated that throughout history religion has assumed the role of helping man to cope with the exigencies of the struggle for existence. With this in mind, extremist forms of religious behaviour might be expected to show a close correlation both with stress and crisis generally, and with unsuccessful situations and conditions in particular. He found in the cults he studied that the constituency was made up mainly of negroes in the lower socio-economic strata. Thus, he concluded, the lower the socio-economic status, the higher cult membership. (Jones; 1939:35). Their low status forced them to seek compensatory forms of emotional release through various types of group hysterical and mystical behaviour. The situation under which the negro was brought to the New World and the conditions to which he was exposed there "laid the basis for his being particularly psychologically susceptible to the reception and exaggeration of certain patterns of religious behaviour " he observed among the white majority. (Jones; 1939:49). He concluded that the groups had focal points of emphasis around which all activities and thought patterns revolved; the devotees were expected to wholeheartedly believe in the ideologies and practices of the group; rhythm and music played a great part. (Jones; 1939).

Nelsen and Nelsen suggested that with rising educational levels, sectarian tendency lessens; (Nelsen & Nelsen; 1975), and Victor Obenhaus found that there was a substantially lower degree of interest on the part of men than women, regardless of their intellectual level or their social class. The white collar group was more critical of the church than the blue collar worker. (Obenhaus, 1963:52).

David Edwin Harrel Jr. wrote that few middle and upper class people need what the fringe sects have to offer. (Harrel; 1971)

Nicholas Jay Demerath III in his study on "Social Class and American Protestantism", stated, "the relation between social class and religion is urgent in its own right. It confronts an over-arching and perhaps germinal problem in the Sociology of Religion; namely, the function that religion serves for society." (Demerath; 1964:xiv). He believed that those of lower status may be uncomfortable with secular society, so religion may provide an escape. They are redeemed in the eyes of their Lord, and are promised a utopia after death. On the other hand, those of higher status seek a religion reinforcing their secular values and life styles. But he cited other factors affecting religious choice besides class; factors such as family life, religious background, the preacher's personality, emergencies and attitudes of the community. (Demerath; 1964):

## CHAPTER 111

### METHODOLOGY

From the theories outlined above, I have generated certain hypotheses which could be tested in the Barnes Ghaut community. All the theories suggest that inclination towards certain kinds of religious doctrines and expressions is influenced by the adherent's position in society.

#### HYPOTHESIS I

High status occupations are bound closely to this worldly values, thus they are more church related than sect related. People lower on the socio-economic or occupational scale will tend to be members of the sect while those higher on the scale will belong to the church.

#### HYPOTHESIS II

The more educated people may try to intellectualize religion, thus they tend to belong to the church rather than the sect; because the church demands more credibility while the sect demands more faith. The lower the educational level, the higher the tendency to join the sect.

#### HYPOTHESIS III

Because their roles get insufficient reinforcement from secular values, women tend to turn to the sect for reinforcement. There will be a higher proportion of women who are sect members than men; the ratio of women to men will be higher in the sect than it will be in the church.

#### HYPOTHESIS IV

Because of his other worldly orientation, the sect member withdraws from the temptations of this world and concentrates on religious related activities. The sect

member will be involved in more religious related activities than the church member will be involved in. The church member will be more involved in this worldly activities.

The people of Nevis are not accustomed to survey methods and as a result are not amenable to having structured interviews, nor having to answer questionnaires. Because of the nature of the community being studied, I think Participant Observation is the best method to be utilized, for as Gary Schwartz wrote, "Participant Observation is the method par excellence for the empirical investigation of systems of meaning." (Schwartz; 1970:27). This method allows the researcher to interpret behaviour from the actor's point of view as well as from the outsider's point of view, thus it will be more meaningful in such an indepth study.

I was born in Barnes Ghaut Village, and lived there for 19 years. I was born into the Anglican church, but participated in the Pilgrim Holiness church activities. I was always interested in the Evangelical sect phenomenon and in the Summer of 1978, I returned to Barnes Ghaut to conduct this study. Having had involvement with both religious groups, I think that I was in an advantageous position to do this study from an objective sociological perspective. An alien observer brings a perspective shaped by experiences which do not provide the interpretive



insight necessary for an accurate, objective appraisal.

Much social science research on Caribbean areas has been undertaken by Western investigators, and has contributed little to an increase in our understanding of the cultural dynamics of those societies. Many of these studies have had a tendency to reinforce or contribute to the distorted images of the islands and the people presented to the public in the popular literature. Studies done on religion, (voodoo, obeah, rastafarianism, etc.) have been especially misleading. Difficulties arise when concepts evolved in relation to religion in the Western world are applied in the Caribbean cultural context. The cultural ideological milieu in which social sciences are conducted is of greater importance and relevance than many social scientists acknowledge. By going back to live among and interact with the people of Barnes Ghaut, I was able to identify social characteristics and observe religious activities. In addition, I had a further advantage of enjoying the people's trust, and understanding the language and idioms used.

Because of the lack of a traditional socio-economic scale in Nevis, I constructed local scales, based on the Nevisians' perceptions. The categories used were as follows:

OCCUPATIONAL SCALE

HIGH: WHITE COLLAR WORKER  
Business owners, managers, bank managers,  
contractors, lawyers, head teachers, doctors.

MEDIUM: BLUE COLLAR WORKER  
Civil service workers, (teachers, nurses,  
post office workers, treasury workers,  
police, etc.), bank employees, business  
employees.

LOW: LABOURERS  
Clerks, vendors, peddlars, fishermen,  
tailors, seamstresses, tradespeople,  
manual labourers.

\*\*\*\*\*

EDUCATIONAL SCALE

HIGH: Grammar school, Post Secondary education

MEDIUM: Some High school, High **school**

LOW: Some Primary school, Primary school

\*\*\*\*\*

PERCEIVED WEALTH STATUS

WEALTHY: Large house, automobile, large bank  
account, property ownership, high stan-  
dard of living.

POOR: Small house, no property, low standard  
of living.

The activities of the villagers have been broken down into religious related activities and non religious related activities.

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

Church services, Sunday school, Bible class, Service of song, Night prayers, Prayer meetings, All day services, Revival services, Choir practice, Young People's meetings, Programs, A.Y.P.A. functions, Mother's Union functions.

NON RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

Dances, "jamming", horse races, parties, drinking, smoking, and any other secular activity.

## CHAPTER IV

### ANALYSIS OF OBSERVATIONS

Barnes Ghaut village, the focal place of this study is a rural village with a population of about 212. This population is in constant flux, because many people emigrate to other countries to find employment. It was more practical to us to have household counts for this study, because actual number of people did not present an adequate picture. In the Summer of 1978, when this study was conducted, this population comprised 52 household units.

The majority of people of Barnes Ghaut are baptized or christened in the Anglican church when they are babies. The exceptions are those children of members of the Pilgrim Holiness church who are born after their parents become members, and at the time of this study, those of some of the Anglican members who do not get along well with the Anglican minister. Children are christened at Mission, but this is only an offering up of the babies to God, and a name giving ceremony. Mission members are baptized as adults. Those people who leave the Anglican church to become members of Mission are baptized as adults in addition to having been baptized as babies in the Anglican church. The sample population for this study

was composed of members of the Pilgrim Holiness church, the Anglican church, and a few people who were baptized in the Anglican church but who do not participate in any religious activity at all.

I found that the Anglican church was characterized by ritual, while the Mission was characterized by spontaneity. In Mission, the preacher employed gestures, intonations of voice, words and themes calculated to arouse emotion. The audience helped with interjections at certain points, shouted Glory Jesus, Amen, Hallelujah, Praise God, etc., and they shouted, clapped, jumped up etc.

The message of the Pilgrim Holiness church was that sin was the only or greatest problem in the world, and the only way of overcoming sin was through close encounter with God. This resulted in a special experience, a sanctification and a life free from sin, to be saved by the Holy Spirit, and to endure the atrocities of this world and wait in patient holiness for their just reward in the life to come. The members subscribed to the basic tenets of Christianity, (belief in God, Jesus Christ, Heaven, Hell, sin, etc.). The Bible was the inspired word of God, and they thought all of it was literally true. They believed not because they had come to understand the Bible by themselves, but because

God told them what to believe.

There was a common devotion to the Bible, and Christian love, and this provided an integrative ideology. One of the sanctions derived from the Bible was withdrawal from the world. One of the reasons why they thought badly of the world might have been because they did not get a very large share of what the world had to offer, but also because the Bible told them to think badly of the world; since the world was sin, while the sect was not. The Pilgrim Holiness church falls under Bryan Wilson's conversionist typology, Clark's perfectionist or charismatic type, Washington's avoidance sect, and it falls under both the Holiness movement and the Pentecostal movement.

The Anglican church, on the other hand, was more ritualized, there was more emphasis on form than on faith, the priest dominated, there was no spontaneous participation from the congregation, there was more emphasis on past Biblical times, and the only Bible reading occurred when the Collect, Epistle and Gospel were read.

The difference in religious expression between the two groups can be summarized in the following table. \*\*\*

(\*\*\* Please refer to Appendix 111 for a more detailed description of the differences in religious expression in the two groups).

ANGLICAN

MISSION

EQUIPMENT

Altar, stained glass windows, statues, candles, robes.

Bible, no stained glass windows, no candles, no robes.

LITURGY

Rigidly prescribed ritual, priest dominates.

Informal, spontaneous, lay participation, testimony.

THEMES

Christ died and rose again, miracles in past times.

Sin, Christ died for us, repent, be saved. \*\*\*

( \*\*\* Please refer to Appendix 111 for a more detailed description of the differences in religious expression in the two groups ).

I asked the villagers to classify people into wealthy and poor. This might not constitute a valid measurement, but this is what the people perceive. This result was measured or determined by size of house, property ownership, standard of living, ownership of vehicles, occupational status, ownership of a shop or business, income from relatives overseas, and size of bank account.

I have broken down membership into family or household units because actual membership in the Pilgrim Holiness church presupposes adulthood, while this is not true with the Anglican church. One is born into the Anglican church, one joins Mission. And to join Mission, one must be old enough to decide, which is about 12-13 years old. The children of Mission members and other children who participate in Mission cannot be classified as members, neither can those people who have not been baptized in the Mission, although they may be ardent participators.

I must point out that educational level and occupational level do not necessarily coincide. One of the reasons for this is the unemployment or underemployment situation, and about six years ago, the High school was divided into academic and senior wings, with people graduating from the academic wing with high grades having



a better chance on the job market than those graduating from the senior wing. Also, because final examinations were set and graded in England, everyone who graduated from High school did not necessarily qualify for the job market.

Now, there is no longer a selective process for High school candidates. Up until six years ago, candidates had to write an entrance examination, and only those with a certain passing grade and above were entered into High school, the higher bracket going to the academic wing, the lower bracket going to the senior wing. Since those on the academic wing had to pay for their education, it is understandable that the calibre of education was higher, and the pay off, in terms of job, further education etc. was greater. About six years ago, the Comprehensive system was introduced, where everyone who had reached the age of twelve was entered into High school, regardless of aptitude.

Some people are in favour of this system, because they claim that it gives everyone a chance at higher education, but the majority of the people claim that this has lowered the status of High school, as well as the level of education. Another complaint against the Comprehensive system is that children are not allowed into High school until they are twelve years old, and

there are many who have reached the top level in Primary school by age nine or ten, thus they are wasting time and being stunted or held back academically.

Another reason for the disparity between High school attendance and job status is that many of the females got pregnant or have children out of wedlock, and formerly, females who got pregnant out of wedlock could not hold Government or "high" jobs. Now, the system allows one child out of wedlock, plus the fact that contraception and abortion opportunities lessen this tendency. Surprisingly, though, people do not make much use of contraception, and as a result, many women still get pregnant out of wedlock. The older people, and particularly Mission members, claim that God is punishing the whole island because of the increased incidences of abortion.

At all levels of society, it is necessary to send the young people, and also some older ones, away from the island to pursue education or career goals, but more often than not, to improve their lot in life by finding employment. This expectation is well integrated into family and community life, and almost everyone, if not everyone in the village has a man, husband, parent, child or relative away. Thus, some Mission and church members are away, but continue their religious

activities wherever they are.

The following tables show the percentages of the two groups for occupation, education and perceived wealth status. The table below shows participation.

### RELIGIOUS PARTICIPATION

#### HOUSEHOLD UNITS

ANGLICAN ONLY	MISSION ONLY	BOTH	NONE
12	12	26	4

TABLE 1

#### Perceived Wealth and Religious Affiliation by no. of households

	ANGLICAN		MISSION	
	N.	%	N	%
WEALTHY:	12	31.6	3	25
POOR:	26	68.4	9	75
TOTAL:	38	100	12	100

TABLE 2Occupational Status and Religious Affiliation by no. of people

	ANGLICAN		MISSION	
	N	%	N	%
HIGH:	3	4.9	0	0
MEDIUM:	20	31.7	3	17.8
LOW:	20	31.7	7	41.1
UNEMPLOYED:	20	31.7	7	41.1
TOTAL:	63	100	17	100

TABLE 3Educational Level and Religious Affiliation by no. of people

	ANGLICAN		MISSION	
	N	%	N	%
HIGH:	8	8.6	0	0
MEDIUM:	70	75.3	6	35.3
LOW:	15	16.1	11	64.7
TOTAL:	93	100	17	100

Because people are wary of divulging economic status, and because many of the people are self employed, listing people according to salary or income is difficult. However, I asked villagers who they considered rich or wealthy, and as indicated in Table 1, 31.6% (12) of the Anglican members were considered wealthy, while 25% (3) of the Mission members were considered wealthy; 68.4% (26) of the Anglican members were considered poor, while 75% (9) of the Mission members were rated poor.

As indicated in Table 2, 4.9% (3) of the Anglican members were high on the occupational scale, while there were 0% (0) Mission members in that category; 31.7% (20) of the Anglicans were medium, compared to 17.7% (3) of Missionites; 31.7% (20) Anglicans were low, compared to 41.1% (7) Missionites; and 31.7% (20) Anglicans were unemployed, compared to 41.1% (7) of Mission members.

Table 3 indicated that 8.6% (8) Anglicans were at a high educational level compared to 0% (0) of Missionites; 75.3% (70) Anglicans were medium on the educational scale compared to 35.3% (6) Missionites; and 16.1% (15) Anglicans were low on the scale while 64.7% (11) Missionites fell into this category.

In Tables 2 and 3, the total number was arrived at by taking the total number of people of a certain age bracket; 15 years and over for the occupational scale,

and 12 years and over for the educational scale. There were 12 household units who did not participate in Mission. Except for those 12 families, children of church members attend Mission Sunday school and participate in Mission functions. Most of the adults from these household units females more so than males, participate in Mission activities, especially if there is a visiting preacher, a revival or a special occasion. However, Missinrites do not participate in Anglican activities, except in the case of a funeral or wedding. This could be in keeping with their tendency to withdraw from the world, and they consider the Anglican church worldly.

The general consensus among Mission members and Anglican members who participate in Mission activities is that Mission services are "hotter and sweeter" than Anglican services. There is salvation, more meaningful and interesting services, and more fellowship at Mission. The Mission is closer and more convenient, especially for people with a lot of children and older or sick people. Many of the Anglican members refuse to participate in church activities because of intense dislike for and dissatisfaction with Fr. Wagland's attitudes, so they either participate in Mission activities or they do not participate in any religious activity

at all. (Wagland is the Anglican minister). \*\*\*\*

Among Anglican members, the steady church-goers' reasons for not leaving the church or for not participating in Mission activities stem from their loyalty to their church. Anglican members claim that they are assured of their burial place in the churchyard, while Mission members have to go to Britannic, the public burial place. The people of Barnes Ghaut claim that Britannic is too far for them to walk to follow the dead. There is some status attached to the Anglican church that Mission lacks. Mission is locally referred to as the "jump up or sideways church", and the members of Mission are usually called "penny-ha-penny Christians". The Anglican members feel that Mission does not have the legitimacy that the Anglican church has, because the Anglican church or the orthodox churches of the island are older, thus more authentic than the Pentecostal churches. Anglican members sometimes criticize Mission members, and Missionites are under very close scrutiny by the public; if they slip up in any way, or make any mistakes, they are judged harsher than other community members.

( \*\*\*\* Please refer to Appendix 1V for individual reasons given for participation in Mission and in the Anglican church).

There are only 4 male members at Mission as compared to 13 female members; and there are 15 males as compared to 30 females (adults), who attend the Anglican church an average of 4-6 times per month. This data supports hypothesis III. It shows that there is a higher proportion of women who are sect members than men, (23.5% men, 76.5% women); and that the ratio of women in the sect is higher than that in the Anglican church, (3-1 as compared to 2-1).

On the whole, females participate in religious activities more than males. It is a trend in males to drop out of religion, as puberty approaches or appears. This could be due to the double standard, where more emphasis is placed on girls attending church and Sunday school than boys. This could also be due to the poor example shown by men in the community. In many cases, there is no steady father figure in the home, either because he is away working, or he just doesn't live in the same house; and the women are usually more involved in church activities than the men. Women are more religiously active than males because of the different sex roles. Because wife and mother roles are expressive, they are seen as more congruent with religious values. Another reason has to do with women's social marginality and their subservient position



vis-a-vis men. Religion is one of the areas where women find equality with significant others. Women assuming leadership roles in Mission have a great deal of prestige, and a great deal of status, both in Mission and outside Mission. Women's roles are far more circumscribed in the church, but women who are legitimate Anglicans participate in Mission, so this compensates for the lack of active participation in the Anglican church.

Mission has a regular Sunday morning service, a Sunday night service, Young People's Meeting on a Monday night, (this was changed from a Thursday night to accomodate those watching wrestling on television, or more appropriately, so that the young people could attend, because the majority of them watched wrestling) and there is a Prayer meeting on Wednesday night. All the Mission members attend an average of three or more of these functions per week, which is an average of twelve times per month. Whenever there is an "All Day Service", usually held on a public holiday, all Mission members attend, except in cases of illness. Mission members do not participate in dances, "jamming", drinking and smoking, or any of the secular activities listed on the Activities scale. They keep their radios tuned to "Radio Paradise", a religious station, most of the time,

turning to "Radio Z.I.Z." only to hear the news and possible death announcements. They only sing religious songs, not calypsoes, or worldly songs.

The Anglican church has a regular Sunday morning service, a Tuesday morning service, a school service on Wednesday morning, Mother's Union meeting once per week and Anglican Young People's Association (A.Y.P.A.) meeting once per week. The average church member attends one of these activities per week, usually the Sunday morning service. About 50 adult members, from 25 household units, attend services an average of 4-6 times per month; mainly on a Sunday morning. About 12 adults attend Tuesday morning service. Wednesday morning is for the St. Thomas' Primary school, and children are expected to attend, regardless of their religious affiliation. The reason for this could be because the school was formerly housed in the Anglican church school building, and it has been traditional for a school service to be held. Adults rarely attend the school service, unless they are teachers.

The A.Y.P.A. has practically disintegrated. The main reason given for this disintegration is that Fr. Wagland's attitude discourages the people. Formerly, the president of the association had access to the keys for the school building, and meetings were held there

weekly. At the time of this study, the president either had to hold a meeting in the church building after the service on Sunday, or he or she had to go to town to the rectory to get the keys, and was required to return the keys after the meeting. Members reported that on one occasion, there was a practice session going on in the school house, and Wagland turned the lights out, contending that the people stayed longer than the time he had allotted them. Another factor affecting the A.Y.P.A. is that many of the young people have left and are still leaving the island, so the young population has decreased; many of those young people who are left on the island have children or are pregnant, thus their activities are restricted.

The Mother's Union, locally called the "Murderer's Union", (people who are considered "miserable", or not genuine or sincere, are referred to as murderers), does not have a large membership, because it is made up of married women. People in Nevis usually get married when they are older, sometimes after they have passed child bearing age. This could account for the small membership in the Mother's Union, (12), because the majority of people are not legally married.

Whereas the Anglican members attend dances, parties,

"jamming", horse races, and whereas some of them smoke and drink, listen to and sing worldly songs, and participate in secular activities, the Mission members do not participate in any secular activities. They do not go to dances, parties, horse races, do not drink, smoke, swear, they do not listen to or sing worldly songs. Instead, they participate in only religious activities.

In summary, the four hypotheses were supported. The data indicate that people higher on the occupational scale tended to be church members while those lower on the scale tended to be sect members. People higher on the educational scale tended to be church members while those lower on the scale tended to be Mission members. There was a higher proportion of women who were sect members than men, and the ratio of women to men was higher in the sect than it was in the church. The sect member withdrew from the temptations of this world and concentrated on religious activities, while the church member was involved more in secular activities.

One aspect I would like to elaborate on is the Anglican member's apparent dissatisfaction with the present minister. Members complain that his personal values are being forced on them. Fr. Wagland, a white Canadian preacher, has been there for about 6 years.

The people of Nevis are a people who have been operating around Caribbean People's Time, (C.P.T.), all their lives, and a common sentiment is, who does Wagland think he is to punish them for their lifestyle? He has refused to christen a baby because the mother was a little late getting to church on the day of the christening. He has threatened to leave a wedding ceremony before performing the ceremony because some of the wedding party were late. He has refused to christen a baby because one of the God-parents was missing, and one of the members of the congregation had to stand in for the missing God-parent.

Another thing the people resent is having their lives under close moral scrutiny, and having Wagland impose his values on them. Common law unions, visiting relationships and illegitimacy have been FACTS of the Caribbean region in general and of Nevis in particular. This can be verified by the vast amount of literature available on the Caribbean family structure. People of Nevis complain that Wagland is putting a lot of pressure on them if they are in common law unions or visiting relationships to get married, and they resent this very much. They also resent the fact that he had a fence put around the Rectory, they feel that they are no longer welcome. They resent the fact

that he is reluctant to give them rides in the Parish car, that he cuts down on people's burial services, that he refuses to christen their babies for insignificant reasons, and they resent what Wagland is doing or not doing if it threatens to disrupt their lifestyles.

Some people have reacted to this by not attending Anglican services or activities; by withdrawing their financial support; by participating more in Mission activities; by having the Mission pastor christen their babies; and some people even went so far as to send a petition to the Bishop, seeking Wagland's removal. Apparently, the Bishop said it was difficult to get a replacement. As Fr. Wagland was never available for comments, I did not get his side of the story.

### CONCLUSION

Sect membership is seen by social theorists as the outgrowth of needs which small sects can satisfy. The needs are created by inequalities in the social structure, and sect members seek relief from frustrations brought about by these inequalities in the social structure.

I have concluded from the data collected that participation in Mission activities serves certain functions for the participants. The immediate needs of the people are too insistent, too pressing and too critical to permit the luxury of idealism; these needs must be dealt with. Their religion does more than give moral sustenance, it does more than rationalise their instinct for survival; it does more than provide a reason for living; their religion provides the very means for living. It serves the organism as well as the psyche. It gives a practical methodology. The activities provide supernatural sanctions for the mores, they provide entertainment and recreation for the people.

The world view provided by religious activities, as well as the cultural world view of ghosts, spirits and obeah give meaning to the lives of the people. Participation provides the people with a rich and vivid.

imaginative life that permits withstanding of the severe realities of their existence. It acts as a cohesive, integrative force, and not only does it provide emotional relief, it also provides interpretations helping the people to make more sense out of their life experiences.

Participation in Mission reveals a desire to get closer to some supernatural power, and provides relief for physical or mental illnesses or strains. The emotionalism in the religion might be suited to take the people's minds off their frustrations, and the feeling of "possession" experienced by some of the people produces euphoria in unpleasant circumstances. Instead of turning to rum or drugs, these people turn to Mission.

Mission administers to the psychological requirements of the people through prophecies, testimonies and spiritual possession, but it goes beyond the psychological to create a viable social context. It provides a Durkheimian like function, giving strength, identity and dignity to the people. It helps ease emotional problems, and many with household problems, role conflict problems, drinking problems, and problems of inadequacy bring them to Mission,

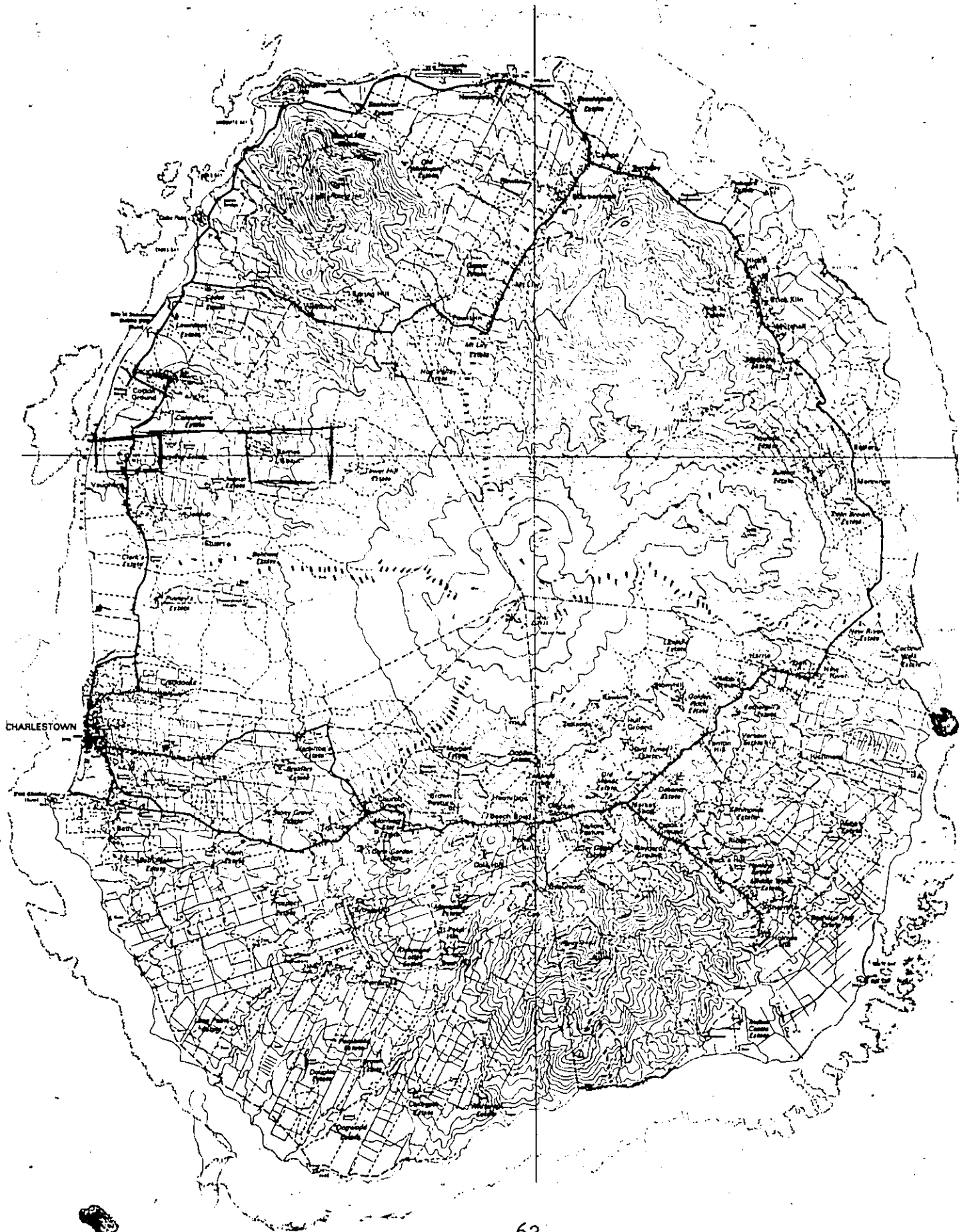
The Anglican church and the Mission differ in their relationship to the social structure, social



status and social situations. The functions performed can only be interpreted when there is the realisation of the nature of the social situations the people find themselves in. Mission is significant for what it reveals about spontaneously expressed social needs, the styles and the levels of consciousness. Mission is a grass roots religion, whereas the Anglican church does not afford the layman much active participation. He is a subservient spectator, whereas the Missionite is an active participant. The pastor in Mission is usually at the same level as the congregation, whereas in the Anglican church, the preacher does not even speak or understand the local dialect or vernacular.

The world view of the people contributes to an understanding of wider social processes, which embrace, but also transcend specifically religious phenomena. This world view, not just the religious aspect of it, but more so the cultural aspect, pervades all areas of life for these people, providing explanations for things they don't understand, providing rationale for life, and providing the incentive to go on.

APPENDIX 1



APPENDIX 11

TOMBSTONE INSCRIPTIONS

Here lyeth the bodye of Philip Brome Esq.  
who departed This Life y 15th Day of  
December 1705 Aged 52 yeares

\*\*\*\*\*

Deposited in the Hands of Almighty God  
until the great day of Resurrection. Here  
lyeth the Ashes of Aron Chapman esq.  
who was one of the Kings council in  
this Iland and he departed this life the  
15th. day of March in the 41 year of his  
age and in the year of Our Lord God 1695  
to the good of all his friends and the  
unspeakable Lots of the Iland of Nevis.

\*\*\*\*\*

Here lyes y Bodyes of two children of  
M. Joseph Martyn and Dorethy his wife.  
Both named Edwin y eldest died May the  
6th. 1678 y other the 6th. May 1679.

\*\*\*\*\*

Here are the remains of William Jones efq.  
who departed this life the 21st. Day of  
May 1753 Aged 48.  
His wodow, being defirous to show her  
respect to her decaafed hufband hath  
directed the following juft Infcription  
Mr Jones altho without any advantage of  
a parental Ellate or Education took care  
to forward himself in the world by the  
Recommendation of his own Behaviour and  
so well fucceded in Quality of a  
Merchant as to become the moft confiderable

One in the land during which time he maintained a fair character, lived in good credit, and by keeping y beft of company, as well of by reading the beft of books, he had acquired fuch a competent knowledge af rendered him very useful to the public, whilst living, and dy'd a worthy Member of the council of Nevis.

\*\*\*\*\*

Elizabeth Peterson born 15th. March 1727  
and departed this life the 1st. November 1793.

\*\*\*\*\*

Is Mrs. Mary Morton Faln A Sleep  
And Is There One That Can Forbear To Weep  
Who Knew Her And The Course Of Life Whe Led  
Which Mak's Her Name To Live Tho' She Be Dead  
She Was Devot And Zealous In Her Place  
She Did Advance Gods Worship Equal Place  
Likewise She Held In Works Of Charity  
The Genvin Products Of Her Pity  
Of His Words Good, God Gave To Her Great Store  
Which She Imparted Freely To The Poore  
Strangers Her Hovse Did Harbovr Frequently  
According To Each On' Necessity  
Tho Many Of Her Sex Have Nobly Done  
Yet She From Most Of Them The Garlande Won  
She Liv'd In Honovr And She Died In Peace  
And Now From All Her Labovrs She Doth Cease  
And Here Interr'd Within This Tomb She Lies  
Vntil She Hear That Voice, Ye Dead Arise  
Tho She Be Dead, She Still Survives Her Fate  
A Pattern Which We Ovght To Imitate.

Dispergit Dat FºG. E. NTIBVS  
Ivsutia Eivs Perstai IN AETERNVM  
PSAL CX111 X1  
OBNT DIE 5 SEPTEMB. ANN 1663  
AETAT SVAE 49

\*\*\*\*\*

## HIC SITUS EST

Thomas Pym Armiger Air dignilssimis In Hic  
Insula (Nevis) erat a consulus Regis Georgium  
11 fidelis Regis Amator Patriae Sincerus  
Amicus, peramans Mutilus Philanthropus:  
Terrestriam, pro Celeste, Vitamicliquit  
23 die Novem: Anno Dom: 1743 AETAT  
42 Si Omnium qui noiunt quidquam adversus  
Mortem Valerant viveret .(remainder of this erased).

## APPENDIX 111

### DESCRIPTION OF DIFFERENCES IN RELIGIOUS EXPRESSION IN THE TWO GROUPS

#### MISSION

##### SUNDAY EVENING REGULAR SERVICE

The Mission service starts with the singing of choruses, initiated by the song leader. Then a prayer is said, which heralds the start of the service proper. There is Bible reading; the preacher reads one verse of the scripture, the congregation reads the other verse, the preacher reads each alternate verse, and all read the final verse together. At the end of the scripture passage, the preacher says, "here endeth the scripture reading", and asks God's blessing on "these words to our hearts".

A few hymns are then sung, followed by the sermon. On many occasions, the sermon is spontaneous, and is usually based on one or more of the themes from the scripture reading. Invariably, the sermon incorporates how "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him, should not perish, but have everlasting life". The preacher usually harps on the fact of Jesus' crucifixion, giving all the gory details, so explicitly portrayed that the

members of the congregation can envisage Him hanging on the Cross. One feels the nails going through one's palms and feet as the preacher describes them being pierced through Jesus' hands and feet. Then, since Jesus gave His life in such an agonizing and excruciatingly painful way, and since all He asks in return is the saved soul, one is made to feel very guilty if one doesn't give one's heart to Jesus.

One has all to gain and nothing to lose. One's soul will be cleansed through the Blood of the Lamb, Jesus. One's own soul will be washed whiter than snow, one will be spiritually uplifted, and the cares of this world will not bother one, because all Christians will reap their just reward in the after life. One of the persuasion methods used is the question, how would you like to spend your eternity in Hell fire as opposed to spending it with the Father in Heaven, walking those streets paved with gold, the land where milk and honey flow?

The sermon culminates in an altar call. After the preacher has carried the congregation to the mountain top, to the peak of emotion, he or she says, won't you come to Jesus now? Won't you let Him take charge of your life? Won't you come and give your heart to Him now? Don't let Him down tonight. Jesus is

knocking at your heart's door, don't turn Him away. If you should die tonight, where would you spend eternity? And after the preacher has put the case for Jesus so convincingly to the congregation, it takes very strong will power to resist salvation.

An invitation song is sung; it sounds so mournful, so touching, so laden with strong feelings. At this time, those who have felt the call go up to the altar, where those who are already members of the Mission or who are already "saved", pray over them. There is usually some crying, laying on of hands etc. After this, those who have just been saved can testify, along with those who are members already.

One particular testimony stuck in my mind. "Truly tonight, I'm wonderfully glad for Jesus. I'm glad for His saving grace and His keeping power towards my soul. My one aim and desire is to continue serving the Lord, Him being my helper". A popular way of starting a testimony is with these lines; "Once I was blind, but now I see; Once I was bound, but now I'm free". Other popular testimonies include singing a verse of a hymn or chorus, reciting some Bible verses, or giving a history of one's previous "life of sin", and the story of one's salvation. Some of the testifying people gave vivid descriptions of how Jesus took them out of the



miry clay and stood them on solid ground, each ending with some pledge to serve the Lord.

At some evening services where there is a visiting preacher, more local people attend. Sometimes there is a Revival. Revival services usually go for a whole week. At such services, visiting preachers from neighbouring villages, from other parts of the country or island, or from out of the island preach. Depending on the renown of the team of evangelists, the Revival meeting is conducted at a more central location, so that more people from more parts of the island can attend. Whether the Revival is kept in an individual village or in the town area, the format is the same. There is a whole week of "fire and brimstone" salvation. These services usually resound through the whole village, and the few people who stay at home can hear noise of the Revival. The general format is the same as for the regular Sunday evening service, but there is more intensity, and the services are longer. The Revival is one method of recruiting souls for the Lord.

Because the Sunday morning services are usually not as dramatic as the evening services, I will not elaborate on them here.

### SUNDAY SCHOOL

Mission Sunday school is largely comprised of children of Anglican members. Except in cases where staunch members of the Anglican church refuse to participate in Mission activities, the majority of children of the village attend Mission Sunday school, which runs from about 3.30 p.m. till about 5.30 p.m. The teachers, not trained in any way, except that they are Mission members, usually teach the children Bible verses, choruses, Bible stories, and things about God. The older children do Bible studies. Religious tracts are usually handed out, and the children really look forward to this. It is also one of the few activities occurring in the village on a Sunday afternoon.

At their prayer meetings, usually held one night per week, the members read the Bible and pray. One night per week, there is a Young People's meeting. This is for teenagers and young adults. Activities include a ten cents march, where people recite and sing spontaneously. As the group sings, the people file one by one past the collection plate, where they drop ten cents ( a ten cent piece ) into the plate. Another activity is a competition between two groups, calling themselves "bound to win", and "never lose". The competition consists of questions on the Bible, memorising

Bible verses etc.

On public holidays, Mission usually has an "All Day Service". This service is put on by or held at one branch for all the other branches. Members and visitors carry their lunch and have fellowship for the whole day, from about nine in the morning to the evening. On holiday Sundays, Mission puts on a concert or a program. The participants are largely non members. They are usually people who attend both Mission and Anglican church functions, and a few Mission members. This concert or program is more of a dramatic event, and is held at Christmas, Easter, Harvest etc.

Now, the "Country Brothers", sometimes referred to as the "Country Lovers", (because of the reputation of some of the male members regarding females), are the feature attraction at these programs. At first, the older members were dead set against the introduction of a "band" into the Mission, small as the band was. They said that it was worldly, thus it was sinful, but eventually they gave in, and even if they were not pleased with the band, they stopped complaining.

The band, comprising two Mission members, three members from other Pentecostal branches, and some members of the Anglican church, has gained island wide fame, and has been travelling to other islands with the performances.

being widely acclaimed. The band has been a major attraction for the young people of the village.

At programs, people from other branches attend, as well as people from the Anglican church. These times are fund raising times as well as recreational times. Harvest time is the time when Mission members usually go around the village, asking for donations. The Anglican members and other people in the village invariably donate, but they say that when the Anglican church has its Harvest, the members don't beg the Missionites for donations. This is because the Anglican membership is so much larger than the Mission membership. The donations are food or produce donations, and sometimes monetary; the food is sold and the returns go to Mission.

At these programs, each participant, especially the children, get a chance to develop or display their talents. They are encouraged and even if they don't recite the whole poem, if they "blow a spoil", they are not made to feel bad. They also get a chance to show off their nicest clothes, many of which are purchased or made just for that occasion. The practice sessions provide diversion and recreation for the village people.

## ANGLICAN CHURCH

### SUNDAY MORNING REGULAR SERVICE

The Anglican church service is regularly held from 10.30 a.m. to about 12 noon, followed by Sunday school. The preacher is usually a white foreigner, predominantly an Englishman. The present preacher, a white Canadian, Fr. Wagland, has been there for about six years. The Anglican priests have always been called Father by the Nevisians, but the Missionites do not believe in calling preachers Father, they say they reserve this term for the Heavenly Father, God. The Mission preacher is called Sister so and so, or Brother so and so.

The St. Thomas' preacher preaches at the St. Paul parish branch or the town branch, as it is locally called, at 8 a.m. then at St. Thomas' branch at 10.30. On a few occasions, he preaches at St. Thomas' branch at 8. a.m.; at such times, another preacher preaches at St. Paul. Many of the older people prefer this earlier service, because it lessens the piercing sun that invariably accompanies the later service.

The book used, "Hymns Ancient and Modern", is a British hymn and prayer book used by the Anglican churches in the Caribbean. Mission members complain that there is no Bible reading in the Anglican church. The hymn

and prayer book has prayers for each Sunday of the year, and the hymns are labeled, eg. general hymns, communion hymns, Christmas hymns, Easter hymns etc.

The organist plays hymns a few minutes before the service begins. There is a signal given when the preacher and his procession are ready to come in from the dressing room or "robing room", as it is locally called. Before the communicants go into the church, they go around to the side of the church and take out their cards, or have someone take out their cards if they are going to take communion that particular day. The preacher and his attendants take a few minutes getting dressed in their robes. He is preceded by the M.C., the leader of the servers, closely followed by two acolytes, those bearing lanterns, then the preacher, followed by other servers carrying the incense and the cross. (Missionites say it is sinful to burn incense, and to worship false gods, meaning the statuettes in the Anglican church). The procession goes slowly from the robing room to the altar.

When the procession reaches the altar, the servers take up their positions; lighting candles, etc. The preacher prays, his back to the audience or congregation as he faces the altar. Then the first hymn is sung, the congregation remaining standing. (They stood as the

procession entered). The congregation sits after the singing of the first hymn, and a prominent member of the congregation reads the Collect for that particular day. The Collect, Epistle and Gospel are listed by special days in the book, starting with the first Sunday in Advent, and ending with the Sunday next before Advent; followed by those for Holy Days throughout the year.

After the Collect is read, there is another hymn, then the Epistle for that particular day is read, either by a member of the congregation or the minister. If it is Mother's Union week or A.Y.P.A. week, members of the respective organizations read the Collect and Epistle. Another hymn is sung, then the minister reads the Gospel. Both the Collect and Epistle are read from the front of the church, with the congregation sitting for the Collect and Epistle, and standing for the Gospel. The Gospel is read from the pulpit, after which the minister gives out the announcements for the upcoming week, says prayers for the sick and shut in, and for requested people, then repeats certain ritual prayers.

The theme of the sermon is usually taken from the Gospel. There is a marked difference here from Mission. The minister doesn't seem to have any real

rapport with the congregation. He is up in the pulpit, looking down at the congregation. The sermon is not very dynamic, and many of the younger people don't pay much attention and don't know what the sermon was about, because they sleep through it or daydream. The priest does not use everyday, practical examples; he uses Biblical characters and the language is not in the vernacular of the people.

The offering is collected after the sermon. There are two people who walk around a little before the offering is due, a reminder to the congregation. The collectors, usually the sexton and another prominent man in the church, pick up the collection and take it to the altar to be blessed. Another lengthy ritual follows this. This is the communion ritual; many prayers are chanted by the priest, interspersed by replies from the congregation. The congregation kneels through this. At the end of all the prayers, the bell is rung three times, signalling the communicants to the altar. The servers are served their communion first, followed by the other communicants in the congregation; the priest finishes the remaining wine and "manna", because it has already been blessed.

One or more hymns are sung during communion, and the final hymn is sung after the communion ritual, at



which time the priestly procession goes back to the robing room. There are usually five hymns sung during the regular service; these are posted before the service begins. Unlike Mission, a hymn is sung through once, no verses are repeated; and there are no choruses at the Anglican church. If a hymn is sung through before a particular ritual is finished, the organist plays some music; but there is no participation from the congregation. The only exception is during communion, when the communion ceremony is still in progress, if the hymn listed is finished before the ritual is finished, another communion hymn is sung. The organist and the choir start the hymn, and the congregation is left to find that particular hymn on their own. This poses no problem, because the people in the congregation usually know all the hymns, as the same hymns are sung year after year. At the end of the service, the priest stands at the front of the church, shaking hands with the people as they leave.

#### CHRISTENING

On Sundays when babies are being baptized, the priestly procession goes to the "Font" at the front of the church first. The baby's mother and its God parents follow the procession. They sit at the side of

the church, close to the robing room before the procession. If it is a baby girl, it is customary for the baby to have two God mothers and one God father; a boy has two God fathers and one God mother. In the case of a girl, one God mother or the mother hands the baby to the priest or "parson" as he is locally called; she gives the name when asked "name this child", and the other God mother takes it after baptism. If it is a boy, the mother gives it up, and the God mother takes it back. The God fathers do not handle the babies during baptism, they just repeat their promises.

Although one becomes a member of the Anglican church at birth, or more formally at baptism, one cannot receive communion until one is confirmed. Candidates for confirmation range from about ten years and up to about twenty five years. However, on rare occasions, there are a few older candidates.

The candidates are given weekly lessons in the Catechism for a few months. On confirmation day, all candidates dress in white, with the females wearing a white veil. The candidates get final touches done at the school house, then when the appropriate time comes, they all walk up to the church, single file, smallest to tallest, females first, followed in that same order by males. They proceed to their designated

seating place for that day; this is in a certain order, because their names are called in the order in which the candidates are seated. They shouldn't eat for a certain length of time before their first communion. They are called to the altar individually by name and repeat the vows their God parents made for them at their baptism. The confirmed candidates go to the altar for their communion before the other members of the congregation. After the service, refreshments are served at the school house to the newly confirmed, the bishop and the priest.

Mission baptizes adults. People who are ready for baptism give their names to the pastor, and on the day of baptism, the candidates dress in white, go to the site of baptism, usually at the sea shore, where they are "dipped" three times in the water. Anglican members are sceptical of this practice, and can be heard to say, "dem shood drone, boat dem a dip", (they should drown). This ceremony is the equivalent of Anglican infant baptism and confirmation.

The following chart shows the differences in religious expression and religious ritual in both groups.

ANGLICAN CHURCHMISSIONEQUIPMENT

Altar, stained glass windows,  
stations of the cross,  
candles, pictures of Jesus  
on the cross, statuettes,  
incense, pulpit, robes.

Bible, no stained glass  
windows, no candles,  
no statuettes, no  
robes, no incense,  
no pictures of Jesus.

LITURGY

Rigidly prescribed ritual,  
activity of priest dominates.

Informal, spontaneity, lay  
participation, shared by  
all, emotional, testimony,  
jumping, shouting.

THEMES

Past Biblical times, Christ  
died for and rose again,  
He ascended into Heaven,  
miracles in past times.

Sin, Christ died for our  
sins, everlasting life  
repent, be saved, after  
life or after world,  
invitation, immediately,  
spiritual uplift, blind  
but now able to see,  
miracles, cure for all  
ills.

APPENDIX 1V

INDIVIDUAL REASONS GIVEN FOR PARTICIPATING IN MISSION AND CHURCH

The church membership is expressing dissatisfaction with their minister, and as a result, some of their participation in Anglican church activities have been curtailed. Following are some of the personal reasons people gave for belonging to Mission or the Anglican church; or for curtailing participation in Anglican activities, for not participating at all, and for participating in both groups.

- A. Sister. Anglican member. "A barn a chuch, an a narn lef". She was born into the church and is loyal to the church. She doesn't want to become a Mission member, but she participates in Mission functions, as well as the other members of the household.
- B. Girlie. Church member. "Me barn an bring up in de chuch, an me a go tap dey till a ded". She was born and brought up in church, and will not leave church to become a Mission member. However, she participates in Mission activities, and she has a daughter who left

the Anglican church to become a Mission member.

- C. Jessie. Church member. "A narn go a chuch becarse a doan like wha Waglan a gey arn wid. A use to go a Mission, but a tap becar Mission people a carry fire in a wan han an warta een y nex". He was born into the Anglican church, but he will not attend church because he detests Wagland's attitudes, and he tried Mission, but will not become a member because the Mission members are not real Christians. He thinks that it is too difficult to be a real Christian, as laid down by the Mission.

- D. Adlyn. Mission member. "A fine salvation in a Mission. Mission preach de Garspel moe, dey preach salvation. Mission sweeter, dey doan bun incense, an Mission kip me oat a trubble". She was originally a church member, but found salvation at Mission. The Anglican church was not adequately satisfying her needs. She is an epileptic, and gets very sick. Being a Mission member has kept her from getting pregnant our of wed lock, and

God helps her in her sickness. She is opposed to the smell of incense burnt at the Anglican church, and thinks that Mission is more expressive while church is boring.

E. Eunice. Church member. "Me a an chuch memba, but afta me bin sick, me a go a Mission nung. Me a get ole, an chuch to far ou a wark. But ye parson cum an visit me ya." She is Adlyn's mother and is 70 years old. She walked to church until 1977, when she became sick, but now she attends Mission services, because she thinks that God is at Mission like He is present at church. She still retains her Anglican membership, and the church minister comes to visit her and give her communion.

F. Willie. Church member. Eunice's husband. "Me barn a chuch, an me narn lef. Chuch a get sweet nung, dem a ley yu say Amen etc." He is a staunch Anglican member and doesn't participate in Mission activities, though all of his children and grandchildren participate in Mission activities, and some of them are members. He says that church services are

sweeter than Mission services, and he wishes that there was a way he could express himself more in church. He won't leave church because he is very loyal to the Anglican church. He is 76 years old.

G. Hello. Church member. "Me a an chuch memba, but ye part to bad an chuch to far ou wark. Anyway, Gard dey a Mission jes luk ye dey a chuch." Wilfred, (Hello), and his family are church members, but find it more convenient to go to Mission because Mission is closer. He rationalises that God is also present at Mission, so why not go to Mission?

H. Job and Bertha. Church members. "Arbe barn an chrissen a chuch an arbe narn lef." They were born and baptized in the church and have no intention of leaving. Their grandchildren participate in Mission activities.

I. Rosa and family. Church members. This is a church family, but some of the members participate in Mission activities. One son is an Anglican minister, one daughter will not go to



the Anglican church while Wagland is still there because he refused to christen the baby because she was a little late, One son left church to become a Mission member. The other members of the family participate in Mission activities.

J. Charles and Adney. Church members. Charles said that he will remain a church member, but will not attend church activities until Wagland leaves. Wagland pressured him to marry his wife after they had two children in a common law union, and after the birth of their third child, Wagland refused to christen the baby because Charles did not go to confession. His wife, Adney, and the children go to Mission.

K. Son. Church member. He was born into the church but doesn't participate in any religious activity at all. He says he is not interested in religion.

L. Alfred. Church member. He also was born into the church, but doesn't attend any religious functions. He claims that Mission people are

"miserable", and are not real Christians.

M.

Sarah. Church member. Sarah does not participate in Mission activities, and said she will not leave church because she was born into the church, and is very loyal to the church. Even though she is now blind, whenever she is not sick, she goes to church.

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